

THE WAYAO OF NYABALAND

247

code of morals is imparted which is far reaching for the social welfare. Macdonald makes the statement that "when a girl is initiated, she must find some man to be with her on her return; otherwise she will die." Speaking with reserve as to what happened among the Amangoche around Blantyre Mission thirty years ago, I believe that no such practice is or was part of the Machinga Yao ceremonies. I have heard similar stories from other Europeans but I am inclined to discredit the whole idea as a practice among any section of Yao. Of the Anyanja, I cannot speak with the same conviction. Similarly I believe that the practice of artificial dilatation of the vagina is foreign to the Yao though possibly introduced in some places from the Swahili. 881

At *Lupunda* and *Chiputu*, the youth have to undergo a good deal of hardship which is all for their benefit, but year by year, as civilization progresses, greater numbers forego these ceremonies. Their manners and morals suffer in consequence, and one is forced to acknowledge with the "old people" that the younger generation, decked in European clothes, with an air of smug self-conceit, no longer shows that decorum and self-respect which characterize the older, unsophisticated natives. My experience with regard to the attitude of natives to their initiation ceremonies differs from those related in *Africana* and I am afraid that Macdonald's native friends were laughing at the inquisitiveness of the white man and not at their own experience. 881/177

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1913,¹ Dr. Davey and I gave a short account of part of the ceremony at *Lupunda*. Since then, through the friendliness of some of the chiefs in Zomba district, I have been present at several more ceremonies. I have collected a number of fresh observations and made a complete set of sketches of the *isapao* or images in relief made on the ground at one of these ceremonies. I have also a complete account of the boys' ceremonies from a celebrated master of ceremonies or *m'wichila* as he is called, named Mlemala (Kumpika) of Che-chamba, in his own words, with his own songs. In writing down the songs, I have simply recorded the words, without giving the many full and partial repeats, and I have never attempted to score down the airs to which they are sung. 124

In the account given below I shall follow Mlemala's practice, giving such variations as I myself have observed. It will be understood that each *m'wichila* has his own way of doing things so that there may be many variations in detail.

Lupunda: Every year, a certain number of boys in a group of villages reach the age at which the ceremony is commonly performed. In response to requests made by the village headmen, the chief appoints a date on which the *isapao* shall be held; this is usually towards the end of the dry season (September) but before the long grass of the bush has been burnt, as this affords the necessary privacy to those taking part. 881

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³ H. S. Stannus and J. B. Davey, 'The initiation ceremony for boys among the Yao of Nyasaland', (*Jour. Anth. Inst.*, London, 1913, vol. 43, p. 119-122).

832 *M'pasi* is a love potion. Men are often anxious that women should ask them for love (*ku-pasi*). A man seeing a woman whom he fancies, takes up some of the dust where she has trodden and mixing this with medicine puts it in his hair. If he meets her again, though he takes no notice of her, she will come to him.

787 When crops are harvested, a layer of the cereal is laid at the bottom of the corn-store, and *umbe*, which consists of medicines contained in the skull of or made from the body of a still-born infant, is then put in and the store filled. In this way, he who has only a small garden may be sure that his grain will last a long time. Similar medicine is put in gardens with the first rains to insure heavy crops. A man on the approach of the planting season should never give away seed to anyone until his own seed is put in or it may bring bad luck to his crop. This is evidently a superstition arising from the fact that if he gives seed away, he may not have enough left to raise a crop sufficient to support his family. Some people are considered "lucky at planting pumpkins, other people when they plant, reap only watery pumpkins." A man, therefore, will often ask one of the lucky people to plant his pumpkins for him. My hospital boy always got the cook to plant his pumpkins.

789 A man wishing to become a person of importance, with a village of his own, takes a medicine made from a certain tree and then builds his hut in a new place, hoping people will flock to him. The tree is known as *shukumbili*. Another medicine, taken in the belief that people will flock to a man in consequence, is made from the bush called *mbila*. Cf. *mbila* planted at the threshold to attract visitors.

789 Conjuring. There are other performances akin to magic in the eyes of the natives, which I have never had the opportunity of witnessing but which would appear to be of the nature of juggling or possibly hypnotism; some resemble the tricks of jugglers; others are more like some of the performances in India. I naturally supposed that they had been learned from men at the coast (Zanzibar), but I am assured that they belong to the Yao themselves.

791 Kambenje, a Yao of Chiradzulu, well-known at dances and *Unyago*, after some preliminary dancing, stands still and is covered by a cloth; when the cloth is again removed, he is discovered with a number of squealing puppies held in his loin cloth, which he then hands round. He begins to dance again and the persons to whom the puppies have been given watch him and then find they are holding excrement, not puppies. Or mud-fish are handed round and the people find they are holding women's diapers.

Another trick often performed by Kambenje was the burial of a man in the ground, covered up completely with earth; at the sounding of the drums the buried man comes running in from the back of the watching crowd.

Kacoga, a Yao of Malsmya's, priest, and medicine man, after an *Unyago* ceremony used to put on his red blanket and walk over the hot embers of an enormous fire in the village open space. He admitted that he smeared himself with medicine and an eyewitness told me that when he put his feet on the hot logs, it caused a hissing sound.

THE WAYAO OF NYABALAND

349

(fig. 14), and an antelope from Mposu's in Zomba district (fig. 11), also two birds at Pikani's which I should think represent a fowl and a crow (figs. 12, 13). It is interesting to compare these attempts which show a natural feeling for shape, with others, the work of an Angoni youth in touch with a European mission station, who depicts the missionary, his donkey, his dog, and a chair but with little or no sense of form. Note the dots above the animals' backs which represent their feet seen from the other side (Pl. XVIII, figs. 15-18).

The models of animals and other objects made in relief on the ground at Lupanda, and of animals in grass and bamboo at Chiputu, are referred to under *Initiation Ceremonies*.

Decoration is limited to the making of patterns of geometric design on many household articles. The graving of pots is mentioned under *Pottery*: gourd vessels sometimes have lines and triangles cut on the surface; ivory knife handles may have concentric circles graven on them, the same being true of ivory nose-rings and necklaces. Spear handles and walking sticks, snuff-boxes, pipes, the head-rest and the necks of musical instruments too, are commonly engraved with designs. The wooden rim of the *mitungwi* basket is always so treated. A series of these designs from baskets is reproduced (Pl. XVII). Occasionally geometric patterns are painted on the walls of huta. The best example I have seen is shown in the photograph which represents a Mohammedan mosque in South Nyasa district. This, I think, gives the key to the origin of these geometric patterns, namely, Swahili influence among the Yao (Pl. IV, fig. 1).

Personal ornamentation. The skin color admired most among the Yao is a rich brown and is likened to the color of the milliped, *kjongolo*. A very black skin is not liked and a man is said to be "as black as a crow." Very light colored skins are equally distasteful to some and considered to resemble the color of a roasted crab. The hair should be jet black. Young men anoint their heads with a decoction of *namalenge* pods in boiling oil to make the hair black and lustrous. When the hair is turning white, a substance made of the charred roots of a plant called *chicinjo* is put on to make it black.

Natives recognize that some among them have red hairs on their heads or in their beards, and such a man is called *matwena*, *matwena* being the name of a caterpillar which lives on the *mwana* tree and is covered with long red hairs.

The old men used to wear wigs, *chicindi*, made of knotted string blackened and oiled to look like hair; the women wore one called *chikwao*. These were used to disguise greyness or baldness.

The women sometimes let the hair grow long and then thread beads on wisps of it. This fashion is called *chitunga*. The large red bead, *chitalala*, is now used for the purpose. This fashion was adopted by the old women and those in charge of the *Chiputu* ceremony. Strings of beads threaded on the hair falling down round the head are called *himbola* or *malimbola* (plur.). Women sometimes thread beads on the crest of hair called *achacka*. Ordinarily the hair is periodically shaved or sometimes cut with a knife, but the process is painful and therefore unpopular.

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302 Shaving is a rite practiced in mourning.¹ Some old men and women, especially medicine men, make a practice of never cutting the hair and never washing it (Pl. VII, fig. 3). One occasionally sees lunatics with very long hair in the villages.

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The Yao do not follow the Angoni practice of tying up into tags the hair which has been allowed to grow long with palm leaf string, but they sometimes tie up a single wisp and make it up with medicine; this is called *kukombi* or *njombi* (phur.).

The scalp may be shaved in various fashions. Among men, it is quite common to trim the hair on the forehead, *ku-sijile*; they must not, however, trim the hair behind (Pl. XVIII, fig. 2). Women, on the contrary, trim both in front and back; a man doing so would be laughed at. A woman for the ceremony of *Litise* shaves the front hair a little higher still, but she must be careful not to do so at other times, otherwise she would make herself a laughing stock (Pl. XVIII, fig. 10). The hair is sometimes shaved on either side of the midline in front, in imitation of temporal baldness; both baldness and this method of shaving are called *masweswe* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 4). Or again, among old Yao men the crown is shaved; this and natural baldness are called *hulasi* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 5). It is a fashion much affected by old men and great annoyance is caused them by any young upstart who does the same. Other methods include for men *mpila*, "a rat's path," an antero-posterior median line shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 9); *ingolongondinje*, two shaved lines made from back to front on either side of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 3); for men and women, *ngundeliwile*, "the garden is (dead) overgrown", one lateral half of the head shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 7); for men, *nolacha* a crest of hair left along the mid-line, both sides of the head being shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 8); *muesi* (*chilemba cha muesi*), "the moon," a crescent shaped area shaved on one or both sides of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 6).

The eyebrows and eyelashes are always left to grow normally among the Yao.

The Yao man used to take great pride in his beard; it was the object of a good deal of washing and combing. It grew to considerable length and was not cut or trimmed, but the hair growing down low over the throat was shaved, as was also the hair immediately below the mouth on the under lip and the moustache, as it was thought to get in the way when drinking. The whiskers were allowed to grow like the beard.

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Hair on the chin or upper lip of a woman is rarely seen and on account of its rarity is much prized. Such hairs have a monetary value for making medicines, a single hair being sold for eight yards of calico or two shillings. Body hair is considered to be a sign of strength; on the chest, it is known as *changelama* (*ku-changelama*, to be strong). Body hair including hair on the back is by no means as rare as has been supposed. Sir H. H. Johnston says that he has never seen it,² a statement which shows lack of observation. The hair on the forearms and thighs is called *chouje* or *chimbende*; Hetherwick translates this word,³ I think wrongly, as hair on the body. Body hair is never removed in any way. A man named Katumbisi ("the little vulture") of Ulumba had a very large amount of body hair; he was likened to a baboon and was a source of much interest to the children who saw him.

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 264.

² British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 398.

³ Op. cit., p. 111.

THE WAYAO OF NYABALAND

351

The hair of the axilla is always removed in men and women, usually by shaving but sometimes in the case of women it is dealt with as in the case of the pubic hair. A man with unshaven axillae would be laughed at and referred to as "a man carrying a fowl in his armpit." The axillary hairs are called *mandenga gu mungwups* (*ngwups*, the armpit). 302

The pubic hair, *mandenga*, is removed by both men and women; in men by shaving, in women sometimes by shaving, but preferably by plucking out after the application of a medicine called *mesamandenga* (*ku-maa*, to pluck a fowl), which renders the operation easy. It is prepared from the juice which exudes from the bruised bark of the *mesamandenga* tree. There is a woman at Malemya's who has never grown any axillary or pubic hair; she is called "the rogue elephant"; a rogue elephant has no tusks. It may be noted in passing that the woman has borne children. 824

A few men have the hair round the anus shaved. Such a service can only be asked of a man's closest intimate, such as a brother-in-law. 607

I have dealt with tattooing among the Yao in an article, as yet unpublished, on tattooing among the natives of Nyasaland.

The teeth among the Yao proper are never mutilated in any way, though the *Aman-gochi* go in for small file marks at the cutting edges of the incisors. 304

The old Yao women, of whom some may still be seen, used to pierce the upper lip and wear a circular disc of wood often two inches in diameter in the hole; this is called *lupelele* (Pl. VII, fig. 4). The disc was often made of lead and sometimes of ivory. The lead might be hollowed out on the upper surface; it was then called *lupelele lus utuli*. The disc caused a considerable projection of the upper lip which was much admired. A man, on the other hand, with protruding lips would be nicknamed "the warthog," *namangindu*, and considered ill favored. 304 301 832

This *lupelele* fashion has gone out and of later years the *chipini* or disc worn in the left ala of the nose has become more and more fashionable (Pl. II, fig. 2). Originally the *chipini* consisted of a small disc of lead not larger than a three-penny piece, which lay on the outer surface of the ala, held in place by a stem, *hukiaji*, which pierced the ala and passed into the nostril. Now the fashion is to wear a very large disc, often an inch in diameter, which itself occupies a hole in the substance of the ala of the nose; it may be flat-topped and called *chipini cha utungu* ("mushroom"), or the upper surface may often be concave, in which case it is called *chipini cha utuli* (*lituli*, a grain mortar). These disks are made of lead and are sometimes called *hidini*, a recent word and doubtless a corruption of "lead." Others are made of ivory, which may bear some geometric pattern on the exposed surface. A *chipini* used to cost a fowl.

Among Yao men and women, the lobule of the ear is often pierced but nothing is worn in the hole except possibly a stalk of grass.

Combs for use and for ornament are worn in the hair by both men and women. The ordinary comb without decoration is called *kizumbepa*; it is made of a number of pieces 301

THE WAYAO OF NYABALAND

353

Chipiliga: (*ku-piliga*, to roll round), a bracelet made of beads wound on a bark-cloth core. 301

Chipa: the same, but the beads cover a double core so that the bracelet is wider.

Mektu: a circular hollow cylinder of beadwork which lies flat as a bracelet.

Necklaces are much prized by the women. All the children, too, if possible, are provided with some kind or another, even though it be only a piece of string. They are generally made of beads; charms and their ornamental imitations are also worn as necklaces. Some names refer to the pattern of the beadwork, others refer to the length or fashion of the necklace.

Chitupa is a necklace which hangs down in front to the level of the breasts; it does not go under the arms, as Hetherwick states.¹ It consists of three, four, or five strings of beads in rows, arranged in a pattern.

Anguyeye: hangs down as far as the ankles. The word *Anguyeye* means "chase me!"

Chinganga is made of a single string of beads, but hangs as low as *chitupa*. *Chitupa* is of more than one string and various colored beads enter into its composition, often in *litwala* pattern.

Chipote: consists of a single string of beads of one color tied tightly round the neck without tassel or bunch.

Chitamasuka is worn like *chinganga*, but beads of more than one color are used.

Chitemangu resembles *chitupa*, only more strings of beads are used.

Mepunda: a solid cord of bark cloth covered with beads of one color, either dark blue or white, worn round the neck crossing on the chest and under the armpits; the cords are as thick as the finger. These are worn especially by girls after *Chiputa*.

Chimusemba: a cord of beads as in *mepunda*, but worn round the neck only. The necklace consists of perhaps six strings of beads, the first of which is worn close to the neck, while each succeeding string hangs lower and more loosely.

Chigeti or *chibetiji*: made of three plaited strands of beads, generally white.

Nkololike: a necklace with a tassel, usually consisting of two large red beads.

Mlatu ("a striped snake"): made of four strings of beads, each row being of one color.

Mchila wetswe ("the rat's tail"): like *mlatu* consisting of two, three or four strings of beads.

Chuma cha manku (*manku*, "bag"): a hollow cylinder of bead work usually of blue and white, worn as a necklace. *Chuma* is the Chiyao word for beads; in Chinyanja, it means wealth.

Litwala is a word referring to the pattern of the beadwork, so called from the resemblance to the eyes of the cane-rat; in *litwala*, white beads are arranged in rosettes round a series of larger black beads in a band.

Most women and many children wear beads round the waist. They are supposed to be very attractive to men. The prostitute wears more than anyone else, for the same reason

¹ Op. cit., p. 117.

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[548]

246 H. S. STAHNUS.—Notes on Some Tribes of British Central Africa.

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832 this is then added to a brew of new beer and given to her husband to drink. He will then think of and love only herself. This is said to have caused the death of some husbands.

Mpasi: medicine made and drunk by a woman to make her beloved by a certain man.

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[847] At confinement a woman has to answer whether she has ever committed adultery; if she denies an adultery she may die, if she owns up and gives the name of the man this can be remedied. Adultery on the part of the father or mother is said to be a cause of abortion.

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837 A man going away from his village for several months and leaving his wife behind and wishing her to remain faithful puts a knife into its sheath and hangs it in the hut, telling his brother. It is then believed that should anyone commit adultery with his wife separation after the coitus is impossible till some third party comes and pulls the knife from its sheath, and in doing so becomes a witness of the adultery.

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833 Eating of eggs is believed to cause impotence in children or adults. Much fat eaten is said to have the same effect. It is believed that if a hare run up against [262] the leg of a man while going through the forest he will become impotent. It is [925] for this reason that dung of the hare is put at the door of a man to make fun of [522] him as impotent. This is a trick played by *Adzakulu*.

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753 If a woman who has committed adultery puts salt into the food while cooking, of which her husband will partake, will thereby cause his death. At the present time among the Yao-Maŋanja community a woman always calls one of the children to do it—this speaks for itself. A woman, after connection with her husband, putting salt in food, may cause illness among any children partaking of the food.

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837 If a man accuse his wife of adultery and she denies it, he will procure medicine and place it under her pillow, then in the middle of the night she will wake her husband and tell him the name of her lover.

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777 *Mpingu* = ill omen. A journey would always be stopped if on setting out one of the party die; or should they meet an ant-eater or black snake. It used to be considered a sign of bad luck if one of them knocked the toes against a stone; now if blood flows from the big toe they say it presages good luck.

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826 The Yao at the age of sixteen years climbs the *mumla* tree, and finding a fruit which is soft makes a hole in the middle and inserts the penis. After this procedure the penis is said to enlarge as the fruit grows; when the size desired is reached the fruit is cut down.

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827 The native says that every one has a small animal inside the ear, the sounds it makes causes the man to hear. If the animal escapes the man becomes deaf. The animal is said to be $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch long, and wax is said to be its excrement.

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777 Where a man rests on a journey he often puts a stone in the fork of the nearest tree; on many journeys there are regular halting places, often at cross roads, and here every passer-by adds a stone for luck, making quite big heaps.